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ABSTRACT

Young men enrolled in the eighth grade during the 1949-50 school year in 11 eastern Kentucky counties were subjects of a follow-up study on the effects of migration and education on careers and opportunities. The study was limited to those individuals residing in the same 11 counties plus the Ohio Valley-Kentucky area. Some 307 subjects were interviewed during the summer of 1960. The document compares, in narrative and statistical fashion, the career levels of nonmigrants to those who migrate to industrial areas. In addition, migrant and nonmigrant comparisons are made considering the educational attainment effect on career opportunities. It is concluded that a young man who remains in eastern Kentucky enhances his economic life chances by completing high school; if he migrates, however, a high school education seems to have little effect on his level of living. A related document is ED 027 129. (DB)

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Career Placement and Economic Life Chances of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky

By HARRY K. SCHWARZWELLER

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PREFACE

This is the second of a series of reports on a study of young men who were enrolled in the eighth grade during the school year 1949-50 in 11 eastern Kentucky counties.[1] These men were followed up and interviewed where they lived in the summer of 1960. This second report compares individuals who were residing *within* the eastern Kentucky area with those who had migrated and taken up residence *outside* that area in terms of their career placement and economic life chances. The effects of school drop-out or high school completion, as well as region of residence, are analyzed and discussed.

It is anticipated that this information will be of particular interest and value to youth guidance counselors, school administrators, extension workers, and others who are concerned with what happens to eastern Kentucky youths after they leave school.

A more detailed, technical explanation of the research design, field work procedures, and estimation of the study population's representativeness is available from the Rural Sociology Department, University of Kentucky (RS Report 21).

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[1] The first report of the series is:
Harry K. Schwarzweller, *Sociocultural Origins and Migration Patterns of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky*, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 685 (Dec. 1963).

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The study on which this report is based was made under the direction of E. Grant Youmans, Social Science Analyst, Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and Harry K. Schwarzweller, Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky. It was sponsored jointly by the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky, and the Farm Population Branch, Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and is a contributing study to the Southern Regional Rural Sociological Research Project S-44.

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Career Placement and Economic Life Chances of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky

By HARRY K. SCHWARZWELLER

Each year thousands of young people seeking job and economic opportunities migrate from eastern Kentucky, a sub-region of the Southern Appalachians, to industrial areas in the Ohio Valley.[2] Aside from casual, selective observations, very little is known about what happens to them and how they fare relative to their counterparts who choose to remain behind. From tenuous generalizations it is difficult to build guidance programs designed to achieve full realization of human potentialities in eastern Kentucky and other low-income areas. Furthermore, research and guidance program planning have given scant attention to the interrelated effects of combinations of alternatives such as migration and schooling on youth career opportunities.

This report is presented to strengthen the base of knowledge from which to offer advice to youths entering the labor force from low-income rural areas.[3]

The larger project, from which this study was derived, poses the general proposition that "schooling is a good thing." It is expected that the more schooling an individual completes (1) the greater the contribution he can make to the public welfare, (2) the greater will be his rewards from the society in which he lives, and (3) the greater will be his adaptation, therefore, to the sociocultural circumstances in which he works and lives. But statements of relationships such as these presuppose certain specified environmental conditions. In this study, major interest was focused on the situational conditions under which the working hypotheses, derived from the foregoing statements, were tested. An attempt was made to assess the relative importance of education in the career placement and economic life chances of

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[2] For some idea of the extent of out-migration from eastern Kentucky, see Tables 11 and 12, James S. Brown and Ralph J. Ramsey, *The Changing Kentucky Population*, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta. Prog. Rep. 67 (Sept. 1958).

[3] Because school drop-out rates are markedly higher in such areas than in other areas of the U. S. and because the industrial order more and more demands that workers be like interchangeable units in the complex machinery of mass production, the need for youth advisory programs based on fundamental knowledge is urgent. To compare high school completion rates in eastern Kentucky with averages for the state, see Tables 22, 23, and 24, *ibid.*

youths entering the labor force from low-income rural areas *when the effects of regional variations in the structure of opportunity are controlled.*[4] If one views migration from this perspective (as indicative of socioeconomic conditions in which the work situation is located) the research reported here may yield new avenues of thought in the interpretation of findings and, thus, aid in making recommendations for more effective guidance programs.

Study Design and Procedures: A Brief Review[5]

The project was designed to follow up a specific population of young men who had been 10 years out of the eighth grade in school and, therefore, would normally have completed formal education and compulsory military service, and would likely be established in their work careers. Eighth grade enrollment lists for the school year 1949-50 were obtained from 11 eastern Kentucky counties (Fig. 1). Difficulties, of course, were encountered in the attempt to trace-down such a highly mobile population after ten years. Field work was limited to the Ohio-Kentucky area. A team of trained interviewers, working in widely scattered locations, administered the interview schedule during the early summer months of 1960. In total, 307 interviews were completed; these provide the data on which this report is based.[6]

A "nonmigrant" is defined as an individual who in 1960 lived *within* the eastern Kentucky area included in State Economic Areas 8 and 9 as delineated by the U. S. Census. "Migrant" refers to an individual who in 1960 lived *outside* the eastern Kentucky area but within the boundaries of Ohio and Kentucky. Migrants were located in widely scattered areas of the southern Ohio Valley but, for the most part, they tended to cluster in and around the cities of Middletown, Dayton, Hamilton, and Cincinnati, Ohio, and Louisville, Ky.; a few were in or near Lexington, Ky.

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[4] The Eastern Kentucky Resource Development Project recognizes the crucial importance of high school completion on the life chances of youths in the area. One phase of that program has as its main objective the organization of all concerned agencies in an integrated effort to solve the drop-out problem. Nevertheless, that program is hampered in achieving its ultimate objective, namely, human resource development, because empirically verified knowledge about the consequences of school drop-out in relation to migration is limited.

[5] A more comprehensive treatment of the study design and procedures is presented in Harry K. Schwarzweller, *Research Design, Field Work Procedures, and Data Collection Problems in a Follow-up Study of Young Men From Eastern Kentucky,* U. of K.. Dept. of Rural Sociology RS 21 (May 1963).

[6] One can judge this study population as being fairly representative of the 570 individuals in the original 1950 eighth grade listings who were estimated to be residing within the Ohio-Kentucky study boundaries in 1960. See *ibid.*

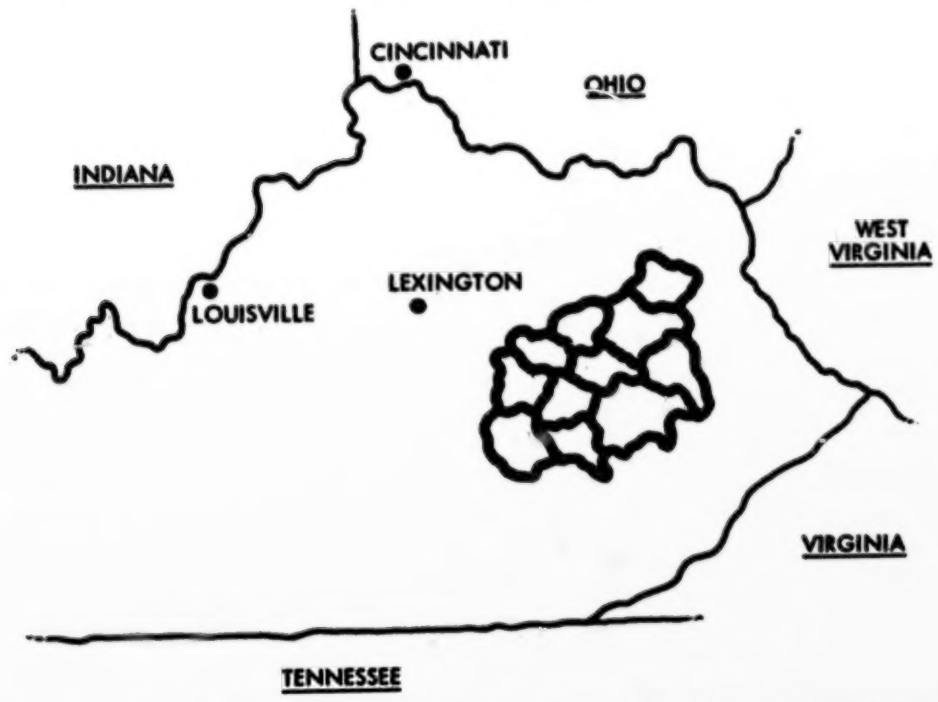

Fig. 1.— The 11 eastern Kentucky counties from which the study population was drawn are in State Economic Areas 8 and 9. The counties are Breathitt, Elliott, Estill, Jackson, Lee, Magoffin, Menifee, Morgan, Owsley, Powell and Wilfe.

Many young men classed as nonmigrants by this definition had established residence outside eastern Kentucky during the 10-year period but had moved back prior to 1960. Similarly, some of the migrants had moved out of eastern Kentucky, then back, then out again prior to 1960. The definition of migration, therefore, is based entirely upon location of residence in 1960 and not upon other residential movements during the period 1950-60.

Migrants and nonmigrants did not differ significantly with respect to sociocultural origins and background characteristics. Non-significant differences in educational attainment were observed between the two segments.[7]

SECTION ONE: MIGRATION, CAREER PLACEMENT AND ECONOMIC LIFE CHANCES

This section concerns the socioeconomic context within which young men from eastern Kentucky seek jobs, establish careers, and pursue those material amenities of living which they deem desirable. We shall explore if and to what extent these men enhance their

[7] Bul. 685. *op. cit.*

economic life chances and career opportunities by migrating from low-income rural counties to more industrialized areas in the Ohio Valley.

Career Placement and Migration

Great variations exist among economic regions and sub-regions of the United States, not only in the availability of jobs for new entrants to the labor force but also in the types of work which dominate the regional occupational structures. Replacement ratios, for example, in the 11 counties from which this study population was drawn range from 154 to 226.[8] That means, given a "static" labor market situation in a county with a replacement ratio as high as 226, it would be necessary for 126 new entrants to the labor force to seek employment elsewhere for every 100 who could find vacated jobs in the home county. Since the labor market in the subsistence agricultural economy of eastern Kentucky is relatively static in its demands for additional manpower, the rapidly industrializing Ohio Valley complex has attracted large numbers of eastern Kentucky youths seeking employment. For this reason also, unemployment and underemployment rates tend to be relatively higher in the low-income rural counties.[9]

The responses of young men in the study population to the following question—"How would you rate this county (present residence) as a place to find opportunities for work?"—indicated a realistic awareness of regional opportunity differentials. The question implies a comparative response; to know if something is "good" or "poor" demands a standard against which to evaluate. One can formulate a reasonable argument that the Ohio Valley-eastern Kentucky comparison dominates the evaluation. If this assumption is made, the data reveal (Table 1) that both migrants and nonmigrants were

Table 1.— Response to the Question "How Would You Rate This County as a Place to Find Opportunity for Work?" by Region of Residence, 1960

Response	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
"Very good" or "pretty good"	9	5.7	106	70.7
"Average"	16	10.2	24	16.0
"Poor" or "very poor"	132	84.1	20	13.3
Total	157	100.0	150	100.0

$X^2 = 165.96$; df = 2; $P < 0.01$

[8] From Table 26, Brown and Ramsey, *op. cit.*

[9] Robert E. Galloway, *Rural Manpower in Eastern Kentucky*, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta. 627 (June 1955).

very much aware of regional differentials in work opportunity. Only 6 percent of the nonmigrants said that opportunities for work were "very good" or "pretty good," compared with 71 percent of the migrants; only 13 percent of the migrants said "poor" or "very poor" compared with 84 percent of the nonmigrants.

Employment opportunity *per se* is only one aspect in comparing regional occupational structures. The kinds of jobs available to new entrants to the labor force, as well as the relative proportions of total manpower allocated to various job categories in a region, reflect its dominant economic base. The occupational structure of eastern Kentucky is founded on a base of extractive industries such as agriculture and mining, whereas migrants from eastern Kentucky move to areas where the predominant industry is manufacturing. Data from the present study reflect this difference.

TYPE OF WORK

The jobs in which the men in this study population were employed in 1960 were classified according to the nature of the work on the basis of analytical categories developed by Morris and Murphy.[10]

One should not confuse these occupational situs categories, the major criterion of which is the type of work performed, with the more familiar categories of occupational status which yield a rank ordering or hierarchy of occupations. Situs focuses on the kind of work performed apart from the high or low status of the job in the occupational structure. The unemployed, students, or those for whom information about their job was too ambiguous for classification purposes were eliminated from this analysis (Table 2).

In comparing nonmigrants and migrants, no significant differences were revealed in the proportions of each segment placed in: the arts and entertainment category (combined, only 2 percent of the total study population); the education, research, health and welfare categories (combined, only 6 percent of the total); the transportation and commerce categories (combined, 15 percent of the total); and the building and maintenance category (combined, 26 percent of the total). None of the nonmigrants and only five of the migrants were in the legal authority, finance, and records categories.

The distinctive differences were the very large proportion of migrants (49 percent) but only a small proportion of the nonmigrants (5 percent) holding jobs in manufacturing industries and the neg-

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[10] Richard T. Morris and Raymond J. Murphy, "The Situs Dimension in Occupational Structure," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (2): 231-239, (April 1959).

Table 2.— Occupational Situs of Jobs Held by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky, by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Occupational Situs of Jobs Held a/	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Manufacturing	7	5.1	70	48.6
Agriculture	41	30.0	2	1.4
Other extractive industries	18	13.1	0	0
Transportation and commerce	21	15.3	20	13.9
Building and maintenance	37	27.0	37	25.7
All other situs categories	13	9.5	15	10.4
Total	137	100.0	144	100.0

a/ Individuals who were unemployed, students, or those for whom specific work task information was lacking were excluded from the analysis.

$X^2 = 104.60$; df = 5; $P < 0.01$

ligible proportion of migrants as compared with the large proportion (43 percent) of nonmigrants engaged in extractive industries. These data reflect basic differences in the economic structures of the situations[11] which must be considered in explaining career placement and in evaluating the influence of education on the life chances of young men from eastern Kentucky.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Although occupational status suggests the nature of the job performed, such classifications are interpreted generally as indicating the relative position of occupations compared with other occupations and therefore, the relative positions and career attainments of individuals in an occupational hierarchy. The latter interpretation is logically feasible because the migrants and nonmigrants in this study stemmed from similar sociocultural antecedents.

It was noted earlier that the two segments were placed in quite different labor market situations. Occupational status comparisons are exceedingly risky, therefore, because their validity is largely dependent upon the criteria and measuring instruments utilized. For example, what position should farming occupy in an hierarchy of occupations? This problem becomes serious indeed when one wishes to compare a situation where agriculture is dominant with a situation dominated by manufacturing. Furthermore, differences in

[11] Actual differences in the occupational structure of the eastern Kentucky and Ohio Valley labor markets were not demonstrated. Important differences, however, are evident from even casual observation of the two regions. The inference is drawn that essential differences in type of job placements between the two segments "reflected" basic differences in the labor market structures.

occupational structures between regions are only one aspect of more complex sociocultural differences; there is good reason to suspect that the criteria for social status are not the same in a low income rural society as compared with an urban, industrial one. It is with caution, therefore, that we make this analysis of occupational status differentials associated with migration.

Occupations were classified two ways: (1) according to an occupational status classification scheme commonly known as the Edwards Scale,[12] and (2) according to an occupational prestige ranking scheme commonly known as the North-Hatt Scale.[13]

While based on somewhat different criteria, both classification schemes are designed to measure the relative position of a particular occupation compared with other occupations.

Based first on findings with the Edward's Scale, a comparison between migrants and nonmigrants (Table 3) not only demonstrates

Table 3.— Occupational Status of Jobs Held by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Status of Job Held a/	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
White collar	21	14.3	20	14.0
Farm operators	37	25.2	0	0
Skilled	19	12.9	27	18.9
Semi-skilled	41	27.9	78	54.5
Unskilled	29	19.7	18	12.6
Total	147	100.0	143	100.0

a/ Jobs classified according to the Edward's Scale, utilizing the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, U. S. Census Bureau. "White collar," a convenient label, includes professionals, semi-professionals, managerial, clerical, and sales. "Unskilled," also a convenient label, includes domestics, service workers other than domestics, nonfarm laborers, and farm laborers. Those individuals who were unemployed, students, or those for whom a specific job description was lacking were excluded from the analysis.

how regional characteristics of the occupational structure were reflected in these data, but also reveals the difficulties encountered in attempting to make occupational status comparisons between such vastly different situations.

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[12] A. M. Edwards, *Population: Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940,* U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office (1943).

[13] "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," a chapter in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, *Class, Status, and Power:* Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., Glencoe, Ill., pp. 411-426 (1953).

Both segments had similar proportions (14 percent) of white collar workers such as professionals, semi-professionals, managerial, and clerical workers. While a slightly higher proportion of migrants were skilled workers, a slightly higher proportion of nonmigrants were unskilled. The significant difference occurred with respect to the semi-skilled and farm operator categories. Proportionally, semi-skilled occupations were almost twice as frequent among migrants than nonmigrants, whereas about one-fourth of the nonmigrants but none of the migrants were farm operators. These facts are not at all surprising when one considers the occupational structures characteristic of the two situations. Nevertheless, a valid representation of occupational status differentials between migrants and nonmigrants depends largely on where one chooses to place "farm operator" in the occupational hierarchy.

One must consider the nature of farming as an occupational pursuit in eastern Kentucky. Bogue and Beale, on the basis of U. S. Census data, term Kentucky State Economic Area 8, the area from which this study population primarily was drawn, a "small scale commercial and subsistance agricultural area."[14] This means that eastern Kentucky farmers on the whole operate at a lower level of work productivity than farmers in the better agricultural regions. In terms of the total national economy and the social stratification of American society, it is realistic to think of eastern Kentucky farm operators as being at a somewhat similar level to semi-skilled industrial workers in the occupational hierarchy. To rank low-income farm operators at a level above skilled workers would certainly be a gross exaggeration; that is what a strict interpretation of the Edward's Scale, however, would have us do.

If the farm operator and semi-skilled categories are combined, the combined category would include over half of the total study population, but the proportion of migrants in this category would be approximately equal to the proportion of nonmigrants. This reclassification, yielding four status categories, reveals little difference between the two segments.[15] In effect, therefore, no relationship was evidenced between status placement and migration.

The North-Hatt Scale likewise was modified to conform to the realities of the eastern Kentucky socioeconomic situation. Farm op-

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[14] Classification according to Donald J. Bogue and Calvin L. Beale, *Economic Areas of the United States*, Free Press of Glencoe, Glencoe, Ill., (1961).

[15] Chi-square equals 3.95, with three degrees of freedom, and is not statistically significant (P less than 0.05). The largest difference occurs with respect to the unskilled category, which is proportionally higher in the case of nonmigrants.

erators were assigned to the middle range of occupational prestige, approximately equal to assembly line workers in industry.

The "high" category in Table 4 represents all occupations scored as 70 or above by the North-Hatt classification; it includes public school teachers, engineers, electricians, trained machinists, radio announcers, and building contractors. The "intermediate" category represents scores from 60 to 69, and, in addition to farm operators, includes machine operators, garage mechanics, mail carriers, carpenters, plumbers, etc. The "low" category represents scores below 60, and includes coal miners, barbers, store clerks, taxi drivers, hired farm laborers, janitors, and truck drivers. Any occupation not on the original North-Hatt listing was scored by interpolation.

In comparing migrants and nonmigrants on the basis of occupational prestige (Table 4), no significant differences were observed.

Table 4.— Occupational Prestige of Jobs Held by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Prestige Score of Job Held a/	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
High (70 or more)	14	11.2	17	12.1
Intermediate (60-69)	60	48.0	69	49.3
Low (59 or less)	51	40.8	54	38.6
Total	125	100.0	140	100.0

a/ Jobs classified according to the North-Hatt Scale by interpolation. Farm operators were included in the intermediate category. Those individuals who were unemployed, students, or those for whom specific job description was lacking, were excluded from the analysis.

$X^2 = 0.15$; df = 2; $P > 0.05$

In summary, the distribution of young men placed in the various status or prestige strata of the occupational hierarchy appears no different within or outside of the eastern Kentucky situation. It should be noted, however, that only a relatively small proportion of these young men at this point in their careers (1960) occupied upper status ranks.

JOB STABILITY AND SATISFACTIONS

Another aspect of occupational placement is job stability. Previous research indicated that industrial workers recruited from rural

areas exhibit a lesser degree of job stability than those from urban areas.[16] In the present case it was hypothesized that migration is associated with job instability because migration represents an uprooting of the individual from his cultural moorings, a severance of ties with the family back home and, therefore, a greater degree of personal restlessness.

One indicator of job stability is the worker's stated satisfaction with his "present" job. In this study four response categories were structured—"like it very much," "like it somewhat," "dislike it somewhat," and "dislike it very much." Only about 5 percent of the total study population expressed some degree of dislike with their job; for analytical purposes the latter two categories were combined.

The data in Table 5 show a statistically significant association between job satisfaction and migration. This difference, however, is

Table 5.— Expressed Satisfaction with Job Held by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky, by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Expressed Degree of Satisfaction With Job Held a/	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
"Like it very much"	95	73.1	80	56.7
"Like it somewhat"	29	22.3	52	36.9
"Dislike it"	6	4.6	9	6.4
Total	130	100.0	141	100.0

a/ Those individuals who were unemployed, students, or for whom specific work task information was lacking were excluded from the analysis.

$X^2 = 8.05$; df = 2; $P < 0.05$

not because either the migrants or nonmigrants more frequently "disliked" their jobs, but rather because a larger proportion of the nonmigrants expressed a stronger degree of "liking" than did migrants. Roughly, these findings tend to support the hypothesis.

A similar, but perhaps more sensitive, indicator of job stability is implied in the question: "If you had the chance, would you change to another job?" Two categories of response, "yes" and "no," were utilized; the small number of "undecideds" was combined with the latter. Although nonmigrants exhibited (Table 6) a slightly greater degree of stability, the relationship was not significant, however, and the findings, therefore, cast doubt on the hypothesis.

Finally, the actual number of full-time jobs held since leaving school was used as a behavioral indicator of job stability. A rough

[16] See, for example: Harrison M. Trice, "Rural-Urban Workers and Labor Turnover," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Sept. 1961, pp. 299-304.

Table 6.— Response to the Question: "Would You Change Jobs if You Had the Chance?" by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky, by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Response Categories a/	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
"No"	63	48.5	53	37.6
"Yes" and "undecided"	67	51.5	88	62.4
Total	130	100.0	141	100.0

a/ Those individuals who were unemployed, students, or for whom specific work task information was lacking were excluded from the analysis.

$X^2 = 3.31$; df = 1; $P > 0.05$

control of length of time in the labor force was introduced by the separate analysis of data in terms of those who had completed high school (Table 7) and those who had not (Table 8). In comparing these sets of data, one notes that the procedure is indeed justified since a considerably larger proportion of those young men who had not completed high school fell in the category of high job mobility as compared with those who had completed high school.

Table 7.— Number of Full Time Jobs Held Since Leaving School by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky Who Had Completed High School, by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Number of Full-Time Jobs Held a/	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
1-2 jobs	48	69.6	41	64.1
3 or more	21	30.4	23	35.9
Total	69	100.0	64	100.0

a/ Includes job presently held.

$X^2 = 0.44$; df = 1; $P > 0.05$

Table 8.— Number of Full-Time Jobs Held Since Leaving School by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky Who Had Not Completed High School, by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Number of Full-Time Jobs Held a/	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
1-2 jobs	45	54.2	34	40.5
3 or more	38	45.8	50	59.5
Total	83	100.0	84	100.0

a/ Includes job presently held.

$X^2 = 3.12$; df = 1; $P > 0.05$

In either case, job instability and migration were unrelated. Likewise, when data on the length of time the worker had been employed at his "present job" were analyzed in relation to migration, no differences were observed between the two segments (Table 9). These findings cast further doubt on the hypothesis.

Table 9.— Length of Time Worked at Present Job by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky by Region of Residence, 1960

Length of Time Worked at Present Job	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 2 years	55	40.4	51	35.7
2 years or longer	81	59.6	92	64.3
Total	136	100.0	143	100.0

$X^2 = 0.66$; df = 1; $P > 0.05$

One concludes that little difference in job stability existed between migrants and nonmigrants. Although a relationship was noted between job satisfaction and migration, these attitudinal differences probably reflect more general adjustment problems in the migration process than job instability *per se*.

Serious doubt was focused upon the hypothesis that there is a relationship between migration and the job stability aspect of career placement. It may well be that the particular stage in career development has something to do with these observations; we were dealing with young men who had recently entered the labor force. On the other hand, it is also plausible that job stability patterns are cultural in origin and that both segments reflected common traits of individuals stemming from low income, rural situations. The latter explanation would not refute the findings from previous studies which reported a greater degree of job instability among rural-recruited as compared with urban-recruited industrial workers.

Unemployment represents a additional aspect of career placement. Of the nonmigrants 22 were unemployed when interviewed but only 4 of the migrants. Although no claim can be made for the representativeness of these data, the observed relationship agreed with expectations because, as previously pointed out, eastern Kentucky is a low-income, subsistence agricultural area characterized by high rates of unemployment and under-employment. What is of interest, however, is that so few of the migrants were unemployed although unemployment was rather widespread in the southern Ohio area in 1960. A plausible explanation is that many individuals who are laid off from jobs in Ohio return to their home counties in eastern

Kentucky and remain there until economic conditions are again favorable in Ohio. In this sense, the migrant and nonmigrant segments are linked as one migration system in which the demands of the labor market, external to that system but disturbing its boundaries, function as a prime mover of men and their families between the subsystems.[17] If this is true, generalization on the job stability of migrants must take into account not only the sociocultural characteristics of the area of origin but also the function of migration within that particular sociocultural system.

Economic Life Chances and Migration

"Life chances" refers to "the probability of attaining culturally defined goals and avoiding culturally defined misfortunes."[18] It is most often used to differentiate between various social strata within a specified cultural situation and, in this sense, represents statistical prediction of an individual's relative access to or achievement of certain culturally valued ends. More simply stated, we are concerned with the chances young men from eastern Kentucky have of attaining those life goals generally recognized by them as being desirable.

The present study deals with only one, albeit an important dimension of life chances, the economic or material. Although occupational status and job stability are logical corollaries and, indeed, major factors in determining economic life chances, our attention here was focused primarily on those material aspects derived from an occupation.

MONEY INCOME

The amount of money income which accrues to an individual or family during the course of a year is indicative of the material style of life maintained by that individual or family. If individuals migrate in search of economic opportunity, and if this migration is effective in enhancing their economic life chances, migrants should have higher yearly incomes than nonmigrants.

While there seemed to be very little difference between the migrants and nonmigrants in the attainment of occupational status

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[17] For an explanation of the concept "migration system," see: James S. Brown, Harry K. Schwarzweller and Joseph J. Mangalam, "Kentucky Mountain Migration and the Stem Family: An American Variation on a Theme by Le Play," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (March 1963), pp. 48-69. In reference to demographic data, the term is used by: James S. Brown and George A. Hillery, Jr., "The Great Migration, 1940-1950," a chapter in Thomas R. Ford (editor), *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*, University of Kentucky Press, 1962.

[18] Harold F. Kaufman, Otis Dudley Duncan, Neal Gross, and William H. Sewell, "Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Social Stratification in Rural Society," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 12-24.

or prestige, as shown earlier, major differences in gross annual incomes were observed (Table 10). A much larger proportion of migrants than nonmigrants reported higher incomes. Over 53 percent of the migrants fell in the $5,000 or higher categories compared with only 9 percent of the nonmigrants. Even more noticeable is that over 65 percent of the nonmigrants reported incomes below $3,000 per year compared with only 15 percent of the migrants. These income differences, nevertheless, are not surprising when viewed in the context of economic circumstances characteristic of the respective situation.

The data clearly substantiated a commonly expressed observation that young men from eastern Kentucky can do better financially if they migrate to industrial centers in the Ohio Valley than if they stay in eastern Kentucky.

One must view these data—particularly the degree of association between migration and income—with considerable caution. Several sources of bias bear upon the findings. First, there was the usual danger of the interviewee's own biased reporting of income; whether the drift in misrepresentation was of the same degree within both segments is unknown. Second, a much larger proportion of the nonmigrants were unmarried and lived with their parents. Third, about half of the nonmigrants were farmers, and it is exceedingly difficult for a respondent to convert farm income to gross money income, even if the two are comparable, which they are not. For these reasons we shall base most of our analysis on an indicator of economic life chances which is more reliable and, in many ways, more valid than gross money income.

MATERIAL LEVEL OF LIVING

Material level of living is generally conceived of as one component of the complex phenomenon, socioeconomic status.[19] It differentiates categories of people in terms of their possession or access to certain culturally valued material amenities. The logical correlation between material level of living and other components of socioeconomic status

[19] For the total population in this study, tests of association between the three major components of socioeconomic status produced the following results: (a) gross annual income and level of living are positively associated to a high degree ($X^2 = 39.66$, significant above the 0.01 level with four degrees of freedom), (b) gross annual income and occupational prestige are not associated ($X^2 = 3.70$, not significant at 0.05 level with two degrees of freedom) and, (c) level of living and occupational prestige are not associated ($X^2 = 2.50$, not significant at 0.05 level with two degrees of freedom). These findings support the conclusion that, in this situation, placement in the occupational hierarchy and material level of living are factors independent of each other and not parts or indicators of the same phenomenological configuration.

Table 10.— Gross Annual Income of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Gross Annual Income [a/]	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
0 — $2,999	101	65.6	23	15.3
$3 — 4,999	39	25.3	47	31.4
$5,000 +	14	9.1	80	53.3
Total	154	100.0	150	100.0

[a/] Individual income before taxes.

$X^2 = 96.11$; df = 2; $P < 0.01$

is clear: given a cultural value consensus which defines the pursuit and acquisition of material things as desirable, than those people with greater ability, better jobs, more money, in more powerful social positions, and so on, will possess greater means for acquiring these valued things. It is the material "end" in this casual sequence which is the focus of our present concern; the cultural value climate in which these relationships are observed, a very crucial factor bearing upon the interpretation of findings, is pursued in the next section.

It was hypothesized that migrants have higher levels of living than nonmigrants. The nine-item Cornell level of living scale was utilized as a measuring instrument.[20] This had been standardized previously on a rural farm-rural nonfarm population in western New York.

For analytical purposes, the assumption was made that the tendency to migrate is a more or less normally distributed characteristic. The correlation between migration and level of living (grouped data, Table 11) was 0.478, significant above the 0.001 level of prob-

Table 11.— Level of Living Scores of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky by Region of Residence, 1960[a]

Level of Living [a/] (Categories coarsely grouped)	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Low (0 - 3 pts.)	94	60.2	39	26.0
Middle (4 - 6)	50	32.1	89	59.3
High (7 - 9)	12	7.7	22	14.7
Total	156	100.0	150	100.0

[a/] The Cornell Level of Living Scale is the basis for the classification.

$\sigma = 1.98$; $\bar{X} = 3.94$; $r_p = 0.393$; $P < 0.01$
r (corrected for coarse grouping) = 0.478; $P < 0.01$

[20] Robert A. Danley and Charles E. Ramsey, *Standardization and Application of a Level of Living Scale for Farm and Nonfarm Families*, Cornell University Agr. Exp. Sta. Memoir 362 (July 1959).

ability.[21] These data demonstrate a moderately high correlation between migration and material level of living, which we interpret to mean a significant difference in economic life chances favoring the migrants. A young man in eastern Kentucky, thus, would enhance his economic life chances by migrating to the industrialized Ohio Valley.

In the interviews soliciting information for the foregoing analysis, the respondent was asked if he possessed or used a large list of various items. The percentage of individuals in the respective segments responding "yes" to each item, with items arranged in order from highest to lowest frequency, is presented in Table 12. Items included in the nine-item Cornell level of living scale are shown with an asterisk (*).

Table 12.— Percent of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky Indicating Possession or Use of Specific Material Amenities, by Region of Residence, 1960

Material Item	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	% Possessing	Rank Order	% Possessing	Rank Order
Radio	95	1	91	3
Refrigerator	93	2	98	1
*Automobile	87	3	97	2
*Electric clock	72	4	79	8
Television	67	5	90	5
*Pressure cooker	58	6	37	12
Record player	53	7	49	11
*Electric vacuum	43	8	54	10
Electric range	36	9	36	13
*Telephone	32	10	68	9
*Hot water in house	32	11	91	4
Flush toilet	31	12	90	6
*Indoor tub or shower	29	13	89	7
Home freezer	28	14	20	15
*Power washer	26	15	31	14
Boat	9	16	5	16
*Piano	6	17	3	17
Dishwasher	0	18	3	18
	No. = 156		No. = 150	

*Asterisks indicate the nine items included in the Cornell level of living scores.

These data demonstrate the nature of differences in material level of living existing between these two segments of the study population. Attention should be directed to three items in particular: (1) hot water in the house, (2) indoor flush toilets, and (3) indoor

[21] On the basis of a correlation analysis, using a point biserial correlation coefficient corrected for coarse groupings, see: James E. Wert, Charles O. Neidt and Stanley Ahmann, *Statistical Methods,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1954, pp. 256-263.

tub or shower. Only about 3 out of 10 nonmigrants reported the possession or access to these amenities, compared with 9 out of 10 migrants.

It is not our purpose to explore the implications suggested by comparisons for each item. Cross-cultural and/or rural-urban comparisons are difficult enough when a standardized composite index is employed. The comparative listing indicates that real, and sociologically meaningful differences existed between these two respective situations and these differences should be considered in as much as both segments had their origin in similar sociocultural circumstances.

MATERIAL ASPIRATIONS

The assumption that both migrants and nonmigrants hold similar values regarding material things needs to be explored, within limits imposed by the availability of pertinent data.

After the respondent was asked to indicate what items he possessed, the interviewer re-read the original list and asked: "Which (items) do you think an average person should have to live comfortably here?" The intent of this question was to obtain some measure of the normative "climate" bearing upon material level of living. Again, the data are presented with items arranged in order from the highest to lowest frequency on the basis of the percent of individuals responding positively (Table 13).

A remarkable similarity in responses existed between migrants and nonmigrants. At the middle range of the listing, only one or two items showed discrepancies; at both ends of the listing there was a surprising consistency. This similarity in pattern suggests high value consensus.[22] The two segments were very much alike in their material aspirations.

To carry this analysis further, a rough measure of level of material aspiration was constructed by simply totaling the number of items mentioned by the respondent for what he thought was "needed to live comfortably here." It was assumed that those individuals mentioning more items had a higher level of material aspiration. On this index non-significant differences were found between migrants and nonmigrants (Table 14). Indeed, it is surprising to note that nonmigrants expressed a wider range of interest in material things than did the migrants.

The foregoing observation is further supported by comparing response frequencies to an open-ended question soliciting "things you

[22] The Spearman rank order coefficient of correlation is 0.96.

Table 13.— Percent of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky Indicating Specific Material Amenities That "An Average Person Should Have to Live Comfortably Here," by Region of Residence, 1960

Material Item	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	% Choosing	Rank Order	% Choosing	Rank Order
Refrigerator	97	1	100	1
Hot water in house	97	2	100	2
Indoor tub or shower	96	3	99	3
Flush toilet	95	4	99	4
Radio	95	5	93	7
Automobile	93	6	97	5
Telephone	88	7	95	6
Home freezer	86	8	65	11
Television	85	9	88	8
Electric vacuum	77	10	84	9
Pressure cooker	73	11	51	14
Electric range	72	12	63	12
Power washer	68	13	71	10
Electric clock	59	14	58	13
Record player	46	15	34	15
Dishwasher	46	16	29	16
Boat	28	17	12	18
Piano	22	18	13	17
	No. = 146		No. = 152	

P (rho) = 0.96

Table 14.— Total Number of Material Items Which Young Men from Eastern Kentucky Mention "Are Needed to Live Comfortably Here," by Region of Residence, 1960

Total Number of Items	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)	
	No.	%	No.	%
11 or less	43	28.3	57	39.0
12 - 13	34	22.4	34	23.3
14 or more	75	49.3	55	37.7
Total	152	100.0	146	100.0

$X^2 = 4.92$; df = 2; P > 0.05

have to go without." Again, no differences were revealed between migrants and nonmigrants (Table 15). In the specification of "what things," the most frequent responses by nonmigrants were (1) major appliances, (2) luxuries, and (3) car, whereas by migrants they were (1) luxuries, (2) house, and (3) car. These differences in "what things" reflected, to some extent, discrepancies between levels of material aspirations and levels of living.

In summary, nonmigrants in this study seemed to hold material aspirations of approximately the same nature and scope as migrants.

The data refute "common sense theorizing" which suggests that even though nonmigrants do not attain levels of living comparable to migrants they aren't really as interested in material things and that data revealing differences in level of living, therefore, are not very meaningful. It is precisely because material aspirations commonly called "standards" of living are very similar in pattern for both segments that the differentials which exist in material levels of living become more striking.

Table 15.— Response to the Question, "Do You Have to Go Without Some Things Because You Haven't Enough Money?" by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky by Region of Residence, 1960

Response	Region of Residence, 1960			
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrant)		Outside E. Kentucky (migrant)	
	No.	%	No.	%
No	51	32.7	60	40.0
Yes	105	67.3	90	60.0
Total	156	100.0	150	100.0

$X^2 = 1.77$; df = 1; $P > 0.05$

Summary: Migration, Career Placement and Economic Life Chances

We have explored the relationship between migration and various factors indicative of the career placement and economic life chances of young men entering the labor force from eastern Kentucky. An attempt was made to assess if and to what extent the men enhanced their opportunities in the adult world by migrating. The assumption was that there are important regional differences in career opportunity. One should remember that many of the men classified as nonmigrants had also resided at one time or another in the Ohio Valley during the decade 1950-60, and in that sense many of them would be designated as migrants if we followed the U. S. Census definition. The point that must be emphasized is that this study was concerned with influences of the socioeconomic context upon the careers and life chances of these youths. Let us outline what can be said about those influences in terms of the group studied in 1960:

1. Migrants and nonmigrants differed considerably as to the type of work in which the largest proportion were engaged. Almost half (49 percent) of the migrants, compared with only a small fraction (5 percent) of the nonmigrants, held jobs in manufacturing industries, whereas a negligible proportion of the migrants, compared with a large proportion (43 percent) of the nonmigrants, were engaged in the extractive industries, i.e., agriculture and mining.

2. There was no difference between these two segments in the proportions placed in the various status or prestige strata of the respective occupational hierarchies.

3. In terms of job stability, very little difference was observed in comparing migrants with nonmigrants.

4. Migrants reported considerably higher levels of annual income than the nonmigrants. Over 53 percent of the migrants made $5,000 or more, compared with only 9 percent of the nonmigrants.

5. There was a moderately high correlation ($r = 0.478$) between migration and material level of living. This is interpreted as a significant difference in economic life chances favoring the migrants.

6. Differences between migrants and nonmigrants in material level of living, when inspected item by item, can be interpreted as important and sociologically meaningful.

7. The nonmigrants seemed to hold material aspirations of about the same nature and scope as the migrants.

From these findings we conclude that regional variations in the structure of opportunity have considerable effect upon the career placement and economic life chances of young men entering the labor force from low-income rural counties of eastern Kentucky.

That the pattern of occupational placement, in terms of type of work activity, is so vastly different for migrants and nonmigrants is not surprising. This fact should be considered seriously in planning effective guidance programs for these youths, including the kinds of competencies required, the orientation of training programs, and the dispositions which must be instilled in them before they can become stable and productive workers.

Further, evidence from this study suggests that migration does not cause a rise in occupational status or prestige. This generalization, however, is very tenuous at best, because it is difficult to compare such vastly different occupational structures, particularly where one situation is a marginal farming area and the other an industrial situation.

What commands the greatest interest is the moderately high correlation between migration and material level of living. One might explain this, in part, by the fact that almost half of the migrants were employed in manufacturing industries mainly at a semi-skilled level but drawing high wages, whereas nearly half the nonmigrants were engaged in marginal farming and mining operations characteristic of their low-income area which pay relatively low wages. The correlation becomes more meaningful when considered in light of the remarkable similarity in material aspirations between the two seg-

ments. Too often researchers and guidance counselors have been greatly concerned with the adjustment problems confronting migrants and potential migrants, and have thereby overlooked the possibility of adjustment problems which may confront low-income rural youths who choose not to migrate; data from the present study suggest that the latter may be under greater stress in their situation than those who have migrated.

Until now, we have dealt with only one element, migration, which enters into the overall career strategy affecting eastern Kentucky youths. Now our attention focuses upon a second major element of concern, high school completion.

SECTION TWO: EDUCATION, CAREER PLACEMENT AND ECONOMIC LIFE CHANCES

In recent years, concern has been expressed over what is popularly known as the school drop-out problem.[23] The large drop-out rate characteristic of the economically depressed low-income rural areas of the United States, notably the Southern Appalachian-Ozark Mountain Region, is a well known and persistent fact. The problem has become more sharply defined with the increasing complexity of the American occupational structure which more and more demands that workers be like interchangeable units in the vast industrial machinery, and that the technical training of workers, therefore, be based on a foundation of rudimentary literacy skills.

To a greater or lesser degree, depending on the local situation, the school system tends to reflect these demands and, consequently, the role expectations of the larger society of which it is an extension. This is especially true of high school, where youths are placed in a microcosm of the adult occupational world that exposes them to new experiences intended to influence their basic orientations and capacities for productive adult roles. Furthermore, the high school functions as a proving ground for ability. The individual who is not so capable or able as his contemporaries, or who does not possess the necessary motivation, interest, drive, or other requisites demanded by the school system, drops out along the way. Without a high school diploma, the youth does not possess what is generally required by the industrial order; he does not hold a certificate of achievement predicting a certain amount of ability, personal motivation, and

[23] For an insightful, theoretical discussion about this phenomenon, see: Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility*, The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., Glencoe, Ill., pp. 187-193 (1959). We have borrowed many of Sorokin's ideas in the effort to interpret these data more meaningfully.

social polish for future training and advancement. The youth who has completed high school possesses this certification and presumably carries with him the full impact of a high school education which, on the labor market, commands a premium and opens up for him wider avenues of opportunity.

The young men in this study population were quite aware of opportunities which are assumed to accrue to high school graduates. They were asked: "Suppose a boy in the eighth grade in your home county (Kentucky) asked you for advice about education.—Do you think he will get a better job if he finishes high school?" Only 4 respondents (1 percent) in the entire population said "no." Similarly, only about 4 percent advised this hypothetical boy to drop out before finishing high school if he had the chance to get a good job right then; only 2 respondents said that a young man ought to have less than a high school education nowadays. There seemed to be a general consensus among these youths that schooling is a good thing for enhancing one's career opportunities and life chances in the adult world. We can assess objectively whether that firm belief is justified.

This second section of the current report explores if and to what extent these young men enhance their life chances and career opportunities in the respective regional situations by completing high school prior to entering the labor force.

Career Placement and Education

As in the previous section, career placement is viewed not only in terms of types of work and relative positions in the status hierarchy of occupations but also in terms of job stability and satisfactions.

TYPE OF WORK

If a high school education is instrumental in preparing young men for particular work roles, then one would expect a relationship between level of schooling and the types of work in which these youths are placed.

As for the nonmigrants (Table 16), a larger proportion of the school drop-outs held jobs in extractive industries such as farming, mining, and lumbering. The only other relationship of any significance is that all of the 11 individuals in the education, research, and health and welfare categories had completed high school. One concludes that in the eastern Kentucky area (nonmigrants) the less educated new entrants to the labor force are more likely to find jobs in the dominant industry.

In the case of migrants (Table 17), when one compares the proportion engaged in manufacturing occupations with that in all other

Table 16.— Jobs Held by Young Men Within Eastern Kentucky Region (Nonmigrants), in Extraactive Industries vs. All Other Situs Categories, by Level of Schooling Completed

Occupational Situs of Job Held	Level of Schooling (nonmigrants)			
	Did Not Complete High School		Completed High School	
	No.	%	No.	%
Extractive industries (agriculture and mining)	38	51.1	21	32.8
All other occupations	35	47.9	43	67.2
Total	73	100.0	64	100.0

$X^2 = 5.21$; df = 1; $P < 0.05$

Table 17.— Jobs Held by Young Men Outside Eastern Kentucky Region (Migrants), in Manufacturing Industries vs. All Other Situs Categories by Level of Schooling Completed

Occupational Situs of Job Held	Level of Schooling (migrants)			
	Did Not Complete High School		Completed High School	
	No.	%	No.	%
Manufacturing	42	50.6	28	45.9
All other occupations	41	49.4	33	54.1
Total	73	100.0	61	100.0

$X^2 = 0.03$; df = 1; $P > 0.05$

occupational pursuits, he notes no significant difference in respect to high school completion. The only relationship not shown in the table is that the building and maintenance occupations tended to attract a larger proportion of school drop-outs (73 percent of the individuals in this situs category did not complete high school). One concludes that, with only one minor exception, educational level did not seem to have any bearing on the type of job chosen by the young men who migrated. The school drop-out had about as much chance of being employed in the various types of jobs outside eastern Kentucky as his counterpart. One should note, however, that the types of jobs available to these migrants are, on the basis of their actual placement, rather limited; over half of them are in the manufacturing industries.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

One would expect that occupational status is positively associated with high school completion. For analysis, occupations were classified according to the Edward's Scale and to the North-Hatt Scale.[24]

[24] See previous footnotes 12 and 13.

In the case of nonmigrants, with data coarsely grouped into two categories consistent with the rationale previously argued for modifying the Edward's scale a significant difference was observed which was in the expected direction (Table 18). A larger proportion of the

Table 18.— Occupational Status of Jobs Held by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky, by Level of Schooling Completed, with Region of Residence Controlled[a]

Occupational Status of Job Held	Region of Residence, 1960							
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)				Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)			
	Did Not Complete High School		Completed High School		Did Not Complete High School		Completed High School	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
White collar and skilled	13	16.5	27	39.7	25	30.5	22	36.1
Farm, semi-skilled, and unskilled	66	83.5	41	60.3	57	69.5	39	63.9
Total	79	100.0	68	100.0	82	100.0	61	100.0

[a]/Jobs classified according to the Edward's Scale, utilizing the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, U. S. Census Bureau. See footnote, Table 3.

$X^2 = 9.98$; df = 1; $P < 0.01$ $X^2 = 0.52$; df = 1; $P > 0.05$

nonmigrants who completed high school were found in the upper occupational strata compared with their counterparts. As for migrants, however, no significant differences were demonstrated (Table 18).

These findings were further substantiated when the data were analyzed according to the North-Hatt occupational prestige ranking scheme modified as explained earlier. For nonmigrants there was a positive relationship between completion of high school and occupational prestige (Table 19). For migrants no statistically significant relationship between educational level and occupational prestige was observed (Table 19).

One concludes that the hypothesis, which states that level of schooling is positively associated with the status dimension of occupational placement, was tenable in the case of nonmigrants but was not in respect to migrants.

JOB STABILITY AND SATISFACTIONS

In assessing the influence of education on the occupational placement of young men from eastern Kentucky, the factor of job stabliity must also be considered. This is exploratory; our observations were influenced by numerous factors difficult to control with only a relatively small number of cases. For example, the length of time an

Table 19.— Occupational Prestige Status of Jobs Held by Young Men from Eastern Kentucky, by Level of Schooling Completed, with Region of Residence Controlled[a]

Occupational Prestige of Job Held	Region of Residence, 1960							
	Within E. Kentucky (nonmigrants)				Outside E. Kentucky (migrants)			
	Did Not Complete High School		Completed High School		Did Not Complete High School		Completed High School	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
High	7	10.3	18	31.6	17	21.0	21	35.6
Intermediate	37	54.4	25	43.8	53	65.4	27	45.8
Low	24	35.3	14	24.6	11	13.6	11	18.6
Total	68	100.0	57	100.0	81	100.0	59	100.0

[a]/Jobs classified according to the North-Hatt Scale by interpolation.

$X^2 = 8.89$; df = 2; $P < 0.05$ $X^2 = 5.54$; df = 2; $P > 0.05$

individual has been in the labor force or in a particular job will have considerable consequence on his job stability. Because these findings were highly tentative, only passing reference will be made; tabulations are not presented.

One indicator of job stability is the worker's stated satisfaction with his "present" job situation and, as noted earlier there was a negative association between migration and degree of "liking" the job. However, for both migrants and nonmigrants, level of schooling showed no significant relationship to job satisfaction. In other words, education was not associated with job satisfaction when region of residence was controlled.

The statements these young men made about their desire to change jobs showed no relationship to schooling completed within each of these two segments. Finally, in observing the length of time worked at the present job in relation to educational level, no significant association could be noted for migrants or nonmigrants. High school completion did not seem to influence the job stability of the workers in either situation.

Economic Life Chances and Education

For the following analysis it is argued that, if the school system helps to prepare young people for work roles in the adult world, and if the school system functions as a proving ground for individual ability, then young people who complete high school thereby enhance their economic life chances. A positive association between level of living and completion of high school was expected.[25]

[25] In neither the case of migrants ($X^2 = 1.67$; df = 2; $P > 0.05$) nor nonmigrants ($X^2 = 3.77$; df = 2; $P > 0.05$) was a significant association observed between level of schooling and gross annual money income. In the latter situation, however, the data tended to support the hypothesis. It appears that money income is more a function of migration than of education.

As noted earlier, the correlation (0.478) between migration and material level of living was moderately high. On the other hand, the correlation (0.209) between level of schooling and level of living for the total study population was rather low. This, incidentally, is another indication, although not conclusive, that a young man in eastern Kentucky might raise his level of living with more certainty through migration than through education. In the analysis to follow, region of residence (migration) was controlled.

In the case of nonmigrants the correlation (0.434, significant above the 0.001 level)[26] between schooling or level of living was, as expected, moderately high (Table 20). As for migrants the relationship was not significant; there was no association between schooling and level of living (Table 21).

From these findings, one concludes that a young man who remains in eastern Kentucky enhances his economic life chances by completing high school; if he migrates, however, a high school edu-

Table 20.— Level of Living Scores of Young Men Within Eastern Kentucky Region (Nonmigrants), by Level of Schooling Completed

Level of Living (Categories coarsely grouped)	Level of Schooling (nonmigrants)			
	Did Not Complete High School		Completed High School	
	No.	%	No.	%
Low (0 - 3 pts)	64	78.0	30	40.5
Middle (4 - 6)	16	19.5	34	46.0
High (7 - 9)	2	2.5	10	13.5
Total	82	100.0	74	100.0

$\sigma = 1.92$; $\bar{X} = 3.17$; $r_p = 0.355$; $P < 0.01$
r (corrected for coarse groupings) = 0.433; $P < 0.01$

Table 21.— Level of Living Scores of Young Men Outside Eastern Kentucky Region (Migrants), by Level of Schooling Completed

Level of Living (Categories coarsely grouped)	Level of Schooling (migrants)			
	Did Not Complete High School		Completed High School	
	No.	%	No.	%
Low (0 - 3 pts.)	18	21.2	21	32.3
Middle (4 - 6)	58	68.2	31	47.7
High (7 - 9)	9	10.6	13	20.0
Total	85	100.0	65	100.0

$\sigma = 1.71$; $\bar{X} = 4.73$; $r_p = 0.018$; $P > 0.05$
r (corrected for coarse groupings) = 0.023; $P > 0.05$

[26] A point biserial correlation coefficient corrected for coarse groupings.

cation seems to have little effect on his level of living. This phenomenon merits considerable attention.

Summary: Education, Career Placement and Economic Life Chances

In this section attention was focused on the relationship between high school completion and various aspects in the career placement and economic life chances of young men entering the labor force from eastern Kentucky. For purposes of analysis, the two segments of the study population, the migrant and nonmigrant, were observed separately; region of residence was controlled so as to hold constant, in a somewhat gross fashion, the socioeconomic context of the situation in which the influence of one factor upon another occurs. One should recall that region of residence did have a considerable impact upon the career and economic life chances of these young men and, for that reason, must be taken into account as an important contributory factor or condition.

Let us outline what these analyses have revealed.

1. For nonmigrants, a larger proportion of school "drop-outs" compared with those who completed high school, were employed in the extractive industries.

2. For migrants, there did not appear to be any significant relationship between high school completion and the type of job in which youths were placed.

3. High school completion was associated with higher status in the occupational hierarchy for nonmigrants.

4. High school completion had no effect on the level of occupational status attained by the migrants.

5. There did not seem to be any relationship between the various indicators of job stability and high school completion in either situation.

6. For the total study population, the correlation (0.209) between level of schooling and material level of living was very low.

7. For nonmigrants, the correlation (0.434) between level of schooling and material level of living was moderately high.

8. For migrants, there was no association between level of schooling and material level of living.

One observes that high school completion was related to type of job (situs) and status of occupation, as well as to the economic life chances of the youths within the low-income rural area. As expected, school experience appeared instrumental in determining the

level of achievement and kind of work performed by these men (nonmigrants) in their home environs of eastern Kentucky. On the other hand, for migrants, these data did not demonstrate the expected relationship between school completion and occupational situs, status, or material level of living.

The reader may be tempted to formulate a hasty conclusion that the school systems in the low-income rural counties of eastern Kentucky do not function effectively as testing and selective agencies controlling the social distribution and economic life chances of youths who migrate to areas of greater opportunity. There are a number of reasons, however, why that conclusion cannot be drawn from these observations, and, indeed, why it may be quite fallacious.[27]

ELABORATION AND DISCUSSION

We know that the hypothesized association between level of schooling and level of living held for nonmigrants but not for migrants. Let us compare all four sub-groupings which result from this multiple classification: (1) nonmigrant drop-outs, (2) nonmigrant high school graduates, (3) migrant drop-outs, and (4) migrant high school graduates (Tables 20 and 21.)

Very little difference was revealed in levels of living for high school graduates in either regional situation.[28] Whether a high school graduate migrated or not, he did well relative to nonmigrant drop-outs. In that sense, completion of high school was strategic for the enhancement of the youth's life chances *because* in the course of a normal career it was *antecedent* to a decision to migrate.

However, a comparison of levels of living of nonmigrant drop-outs with migrant drop-outs showed marked differences in favor of the latter.[29] Furthermore, migrant drop-outs exhibited a higher level of living compared with nonmigrant high school graduates.[30] Thus, re-examination of these data pointed to migration (i.e. change in region of residence) as an important contingent factor affecting the economic life chances of high school drop-outs. Couched in more practical terms, the economic life chances of a high school drop-out seemed to be greatly influenced by his decision to migrate and, for that reason, youth advisory programs in low-income rural areas

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[27] For a very general discussion of the structure and function of the school system *vis-a-vis* other institutions in eastern Kentucky, see: Harry K. Schwarzweller and James S. Brown, "Education as a Cultural Bridge Between Eastern Kentucky and the Great Society." *Rural Sociology*. Vol. 27, No. 4 (Dec. 1962).

[28] $X^2 = 1.48$; $df = 2$; $P > 0.05$.

[29] $X^2 = 53.89$; $df = 2$; $P > 0.001$.

[30] $X^2 = 8.65$; $df = 2$; $P > 0.05$.

should encourage school drop-outs to seek opportunities via migration to industrial areas elsewhere.

Re-examination of data on occupational status yields similar findings (Tables 18 and 19) and leads to similar conclusions.[31]

Three important questions emerge: (1) why migrant drop-outs do better than nonmigrant drop-outs, (2) why migrant high school graduates do not do better than nonmigrant high school graduates, and (3) why migrant high school graduates do not do better than migrant drop-outs? These questions are interrelated.

Comparing the labor market situation of the respective regions may yield some plausible explanations. For example, a reasonable argument can be formulated that differences in economic life chances between migrant drop-outs and nonmigrant drop-outs are a consequence, in large part, of the more favorable economic circumstances and structure of opportunity in the industrial Ohio Valley as compared with the subsistence agricultural areas of eastern Kentucky. It may be that the opportunities available to rural migrants are, regardless of level of schooling, at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy. Thus, migrant high school graduates do not do better than migrant drop-outs; rural migrants, in that sense, form a single, more-or-less homogeneous labor pool. One can support that argument by referring to the much publicized belief that high school education is only a minimum level of training required for a position in the contemporary industrial order and that, in this case, drop-outs make as good assembly-line workers as those migrants who have completed high school.

The fact that all of these men were recent entrants to the labor force must also be considered. In the process of migration with its concomitant uprooting from familiar environs, the influence of education has not yet had time to manifest an advantage for the migrants. Education may not function as a selective mechanism for job placement, but it may serve as a necessary credential for future advancement within the industrial context. Furthermore, it may well be that the drop-out migrants had been working in the areas of destination longer than the high school graduate migrants, and, therefore, they had at that point in their careers a considerable advantage which later is nullified.

It is also likely that the familistic orientation characteristic of this Southern Appalachian sub-culture regulates the level of aspiration

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31 There were no differences between the two high school graduate subgroupings but there were significant differences between the two "drop-out" sub-groupings with respect to level of occupational status attained.

and performance of individuals who migrate.[32] In the setting of career goals, and in the evaluation of career attainments, the low-income area migrant may have as his reference those primary groups with which he was associated back in the old home neighborhoods; from this perspective he is doing well if, by simply drawing high wages from a semi-skilled job, he can acquire those material things that are so scarce back home in the low-income area. In that sense, the high school graduate migrant would not judge his performance *vis-a-vis* other migrants, but rather *vis-a-vis* nonmigrants.

Alternative explanations such as these, which bear on the problem posed by the findings reported here, indicate areas of much needed research. As this and other studies reveal, the potentialities of human ability and talent that one assumes to be more or less normally distributed in a low-income area population seem to be systematically smothered and held in check by social influences characteristic of these situations. With increasing concern for the development of talent resources in society, the labor force from rural low-income areas like eastern Kentucky offers not only a perplexing set of research problems but also a tremendous challenge for those persons involved in the formulation of effective guidance programs.

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[32] Concerning this point, see the excellent discussion by Robert E. L. Faris, "Reflections on the Ability Dimension in Human Society," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 26, No. 6 (Dec. 1961), pp. 835-843.